

THE SCUM ALSO RISES BY HUNTER S. THOMPSON

# ROLLING STONE

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Rolling Stone

Aware of its inherent illegality, President Nixon approved the Huston Plan on July 23rd, 1970, creating a secret superintelligence agency under White House auspices; his order amalgamated the FBI, the CIA, the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency), the NSA (National Security Agency) and the counter-intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy and Air Force. Laws forbidding some of these organizations' participation in domestic operations were bypassed. The plan's avowed purpose was to remove "operational restraints" on domestic intelligence collection, enabling the government to increase its use of wiretaps, carry out mail searches and put more undercover agents on college campuses.

It also removed restraints on the government's right to make surreptitious entries against "urgent security targets," even though Huston's memorandum acknowledged: "Use of this technique is clearly illegal; it amounts to burglary. It is also highly risky and could result in great embarrassment if exposed. However, it is also the most fruitful tool and can produce the type of intelligence which cannot be obtained in any other fashion."

Under the sword of John Dean's imminent disclosure, the president confirmed the plan's existence on May 22nd, 1973, describing it as "a directive to strengthen our intelligence operations," and insisting it was rescinded on July 28th, 1970, as a result of J. Edgar Hoover's opposition. Hoover was unwilling to increase the role of other agencies to participate in domestic intelligence.

Events indicate that many of Huston's recommendations were carried out: The essence survived without its label.

On June 27th, 1973, John Dean told the Ervin Committee he had never seen any document to indicate the president had disapproved or rescinded the Huston Plan.

On July 9th, 1973, Huston told a closed House Armed Services intelligence subcommittee hearing, the plan was never formally cancelled.

*Robert Fink was the researcher on Bernstein and Woodward's book, 'All the President's Men.'*

At least 100 break-ins, apparently political in nature, occurred during the Nixon administration. Clandestine invasions of homes and offices were made against numerous individuals and groups considered "enemies" of the administration. "Enemies," both on and off the White House's prepared list, included media critics, radicals and liberals opposed to administration policy, political foes considered threats, and foreign diplomats thought dangerous to American interests. Other break-in victims; not themselves "enemies," possessed documents or other material possibly damaging to "enemies" or to the administration itself.

Although the evidence linking the government to these break-ins is largely circumstantial, it is both striking and persuasive. Not only were virtually all the victims objects of administration concern or suspicion, but the attacks against them followed a consistent pattern. The most striking characteristic of this modus operandi is that, aside from taking relatively insignificant trinkets, the intruders did not touch cash or valuables. They appeared to be under orders or to have a code of honor which precluded the stealing of material possessions. Instead, the burglars looked for information: correspondence, financial records, tapes, the contents of files. The break-ins uniformly occurred when the premises were expected to be empty. The targets were carefully studied in advance; the intruders appeared to know their victims' schedules and the general or precise location of their documents. Entry was usually forced; there was little effort to conceal the attempts—at least where a break-in has been identified. When police were called a perfunctory investigation was made; fingerprints were taken; the victim was told little or nothing; the case died.

The break-ins often came in clusters which took place over a period of a few days. It cannot be inferred that this clustering occurred because one central authority directed the break-ins. It does suggest, however, that individual break-in teams may have been operationally active in spasms, either because an "in-the-field" momentum was created, or because each mission required approval which tended to be

granted in groups at intermittent intervals.

Since the break-ins continued after the Watergate arrests—indeed, into this summer—it is a reasonable speculation that other teams of burglars were involved: either additional "plumbers" or special FBI or CIA investigative units.

It remains to be seen how many break-ins were directly or indirectly White House sponsored, and if any will be unraveled. It seems unlikely that local police authorities or the FBI or the Justice Department will make any dent in their resolution. Extensive interrogation of many key Nixon operatives seems to have been fruitless in linking their former colleagues to additional break-ins, despite a promise of immunity in exchange for "telling all"—and the threat of punishment for withholding information. Questioning of the Watergate burglars, under similar conditions, is believed to have been equally unproductive. Disclosure of the connections between "other break-ins" and the clandestine operations of the Nixon administration, largely depends on the efforts of the Special Prosecutor and the possible revelations coming out of the Watergate cover-up trial.

The following summary of break-ins is not a comprehensive list, but illustrative of the general pattern.

Many of the earliest victims were radicals and their attorneys. The experience of **Gerald Lefcourt**, a 32-year-old New York lawyer, is typical of several activists who adamantly challenged the administration on domestic issues and the war in Vietnam. Lefcourt's clients included Mark Rudd, the Black Panthers and SDS; he was part of the defense in the Chicago 7 and Detroit 15 trials. During 1970 and 1971, he sustained three break-ins and a fire at his home. Two of the office break-ins are considered everyday typewriter robberies. The other incidents are not: The fire did little damage because Lefcourt's file cabinets were fireproofed, but the file on Mark Rudd was removed from the cabinet before the fire started and its contents strewn about; in the remaining break-ins, papers were ransacked but neither valuables nor visible cash were stolen. Some of these events, including the fire, occurred prior to the Huston Plan's existence.

San Francisco attorney **Charles Garry** is a Left-court counterpart on the West Coast. As general counsel to the Black Panther Party, the 65-year-old lawyer represented Huey Newton and Bobby Seale; another client was Angela Davis. During 1970-1971 his eight-man law firm was forcibly entered on two occasions, but only Garry's private office was burglarized. In one break-in Angela Davis's file was removed. In the other, a tape crucial to the defense of Huey Newton, in which a government prosecution witness admitted lying to the grand jury, was stolen. On a third occasion, several additional files were removed, but there was no sign of forced entry. In both overt break-ins many valuables were left untouched, though in one, an old pistol and a petty-cash box containing about \$300 were taken.

Recently, for reasons unknown, Garry has received part of the Angela Davis file back through the intermediary of his private investigator, Harold Rogers. Rogers states the exchange was initiated in a small Indonesian restaurant in Berkeley by a tall bearded man about 30 and dressed as a hippy. The unidentified man said he had Garry's files and wanted to sell them. Rogers refused. The man later approached Rogers in the same restaurant and gave him the files, refusing to say how he acquired them. (Neither Rogers nor Garry have attempted to learn the stranger's identity.)

**Egbal Ahmad**, a Pakistani scholar living in the U.S., is a sophisticated analyst of guerrilla movements and Third World aspirations, and among the earliest and most literate opponents of American policies in Vietnam. In 1969, less than two months after Nixon was inaugurated, he depicted the new president as representative of a widespread mentality that mixed globalism with paranoia, producing a rhetoric so senseless and extreme one would tend to dismiss it as irresponsible if it were not uttered by serious and successful politicians. Starting in April 1970—the FBI subsequently admitted—Ahmad was put under surveillance.

Two months later a student demonstration on the University of Chicago campus against the Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs, where Ahmad was a Fellow, led to a trashing and short-lived occupation of the building. Aside from property damage and a few Rand Corporation reports admittedly "liberated," members of the Institute found their papers and books in order—except for Ahmad; two of his filing boxes, containing valuable documents and several years of work, were missing. Ahmad believes the student demonstrators were infiltrated by agents provocateurs and his papers stolen by government agents. Creating an elaborate ruse to gain access to confidential records is suggestive of Charles Colson's alleged plan to firebomb the Brookings Institution as a distracting cover to retrieve classified documents thought to be in the possession of former Kissinger aide Morton Halperin. In January 1971 the Justice Department charged Ahmad and others with conspiring to kidnap Henry Kissinger, to bomb heating systems under government buildings in Washington and to raid federal offices. During the trial in Harrisburg the charges were dropped.

In Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Wednesday night, March 10th, 1971, the headquarters of the **United States Servicemen's Fund**, an organization which actively supported the GI resistance movement in setting up coffeehouse projects adjacent to military bases around the country, was forcibly entered, devastated and burglarized. Files, contributors' lists, financial records and a rotary address holder were taken. Office equipment was not. Although police were not notified, local police lieutenant Dominic Scalese appeared at the office, made a superficial examination and lectured staff members on the rewards of good behavior. When asked how he learned of the break-in, he replied he had sources. In October 1971, in hearings before the House Committee on Internal Security, a committee employee, Charles L. Bonneville, submitted letters that had disappeared from USSF files during the March break-in, stating "these letters were in materials that came into my possession from confidential law enforcement sources."

Chilean diplomats endured a series of incidents between April 1971 and May 1972.

On Monday, April 5th, 1971, **Mrs. Humberto Diaz-Casanueva** left her suite in New York's Shelbourne Hotel about 12:30 PM, as she had done every weekday for the preceding two weeks, to join her husband, the new Chilean ambassador to the United Nations, for lunch. At 1:10 PM, the cleaning maid found the door chained from the inside and assumed

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Mrs. Diaz-Casanueva was still there. The maid tried again at 2:30 PM and the door was no longer chained. When the ambassador and his wife returned about 5:30 PM, they discovered they had been burglarized: A closet containing Mrs. Diaz-Casanueva's wardrobe and jewelry had been emptied, but the ambassador's possessions were strangely intact; only his papers, consisting of poems—the ambassador was a poet—had been examined. Many valuables, including a \$500 radio, were not touched.

The couple was puzzled but did not suspect they had suffered anything more than a normal robbery, until the following week. On Sunday evening, April 11th, **Javier Urrutia**, chief of the Chilean Development Corporation, returned to his New York apartment, after a weekend away from the city. He found it broken into: His official papers had been rifled and a pistol stolen, but other valuables, including a fur coat, were not taken. Urrutia was involved in negotiations with U.S. government officials and businessmen about the Allende government's takeover of U.S.-owned businesses in Chile. Tangentially, Ambassador Diaz-Casanueva was his negotiating colleague.

At approximately the same time—the precise date is not known, no report was made to police—the Chancellor of the Chilean Embassy in Washington, **Patricio Rodriguez**, was awakened in the middle of the night by noises outside his home in suburban Bethesda; Rodriguez fired two shots into the air and saw men scatter.

Several months later, on Thursday, February 10th, 1972, the New York residence of **Victor Riosco**, the economic consul for the Chilean mission to the United Nations, was broken into. His papers were rifled and a radio and TV set stolen.

The Bank Operations office of the Federal Reserve Board is located on the eighth floor of the Watergate Office Building, two floors above the Democratic National Committee. When McCord and the Watergate burglars made night entries into the building through the front door, as they did on a few occasions, they signed the entry log as if they were going to the Federal Reserve. **Eugenio Martinez**, one of the men caught in the Watergate, has told federal investigators that during one operation **McCord** conversed with a guard on the eighth floor. Between Friday evening, May 5th, and Monday morning, May 8th, 1972—the same weekend that Chilean diplomat **Andres Rojas** chased prowlers from his Washington home—the Federal Reserve's Bank Operations office was entered and a Mosler safe was penetrated. Informed sources state that the safe contained plans of bank security and alarm systems, and that these plans were left lying on the office floor in positions suggesting they might have been photographed. Nothing was stolen.

As this article was going to press, President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon for all criminal acts which he may have committed during his term of office. This pardon may well serve to prevent or deter investigation of possible connections between the White House and other offenses of a criminal nature. If this is so, and if there are such connections, then the pardon will be a continuation of the cover-up.

On Sunday evening, May 7th, 1972, the press attache of the Chilean embassy in Washington, **Andres Rojas**, took a taxi from National Airport to his home

in the northwest section of Washington. His wife was out of the city and except for the few minutes it took him to get to bed, the house appeared empty. About 2 AM, he was awakened by noises. Looking out the window he saw the silhouettes of three white males trying to get inside. When he cried out, they ran to a late-model, dark blue sedan he thought to be a four-door Plymouth or Chrysler; the men appeared to be middle-aged and well-dressed. Like Rodriguez, he wanted to keep a low diplomatic profile and did not notify police. He notified the embassy and bought a Colt .45.

At the embassy, Rojas was one of three men who habitually worked odd hours of the night and weekends. The other two were Ambassador Orlando Letelier, an Allende appointee just released from jail in Chile, and political advisor Fernando Bachelet, a leftist career diplomat. By coincidence all three were out of town the weekend following the break-in attempt at Rojas's home: Ambassador Letelier was at his country house 100 miles from Washington; Rojas and Bachelet were at Assateague, an island off the

east coast of Maryland.

The weekend, May 13th-14th, 1972, the **Chilean embassy** was broken into; the only offices entered were those of Foreign Minister Letelier on the third floor, Bachelet on the fourth floor and Rojas on the second floor. Drawers were forced open, papers were examined; many dealt with Chile's military purchases. The only documents taken were Rojas's passport and a mailing list; the only material goods taken were an electric razor and a transistor radio. Many valuables were not touched. Rojas's new Colt .45 and a supply of bullets were left in his opened drawer. If police found fingerprints, the embassy was never informed.

In his "Memorandum for Record" dated June 28th, 1972, General Vernon Walters, deputy director of the CIA, wrote: "He [Dean] believed that Barker had been involved in a clandestine entry into the Chilean embassy." A confidant of Frank Sturgis, writer Andrew St. George, says Sturgis frequently told him in late 1972 that he took part in the Chilean embassy break-in, though Sturgis now denies it. Whoever the intruders were, there is reason to believe they stayed at a nearby hotel; a hotel employee has confidentially stated that the FBI has taken the hotel's registration records covering this time period. McCord has expressed a belief that the Chilean embassy was bugged by the administration, a belief then shared by officials of the embassy, and strengthened by the intruders' apparent knowledge of the diplomats' movements.

On many occasions the break-ins occurred in chronological groupings that defy random probability.

In New York, the **NAACP Legal Defense Fund** office that successfully litigated against the administration's segregation policies in education, and peripherally represented Black Panther leader Bobby Seale in the Chicago 7 case, as well as *New York Times* reporter Earl Caldwell when he refused to reveal his sources in another Black Panther case, was broken into over the 1971 Labor Day weekend—18 to 60 hours after Dr. Lewis Fielding's office in Beverly Hills was subjected to similar treatment. Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist office was entered the night of September 3rd and the early morning of September 4th. Also on Saturday, September 4th, E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy traveled on American Airlines (as E. Hamilton and G. Larimer) from Los Angeles to New York. Sometime over the three-day weekend, the empty 20th-floor NAACP office was forcibly entered. Once inside, the intruders went down a corridor of unmarked doors until they came to the finance office, which they jimmied open; they examined files but ignored cash lying on the top of a desk. In another office they used a crowbar to open a locked file cabinet that contained nothing of value; they pried open drawers and examined their contents but did not take an unsealed envelope containing approximately \$275 in cash. Nothing was stolen. It is not known if the two break-ins this weekend were a Hunt-Liddy double operation or if their presence in New York was coincidental. The Black Panthers

were on the White House Enemies List.

On the weekend of May 13th and May 14th the Chilean embassy was surreptitiously entered. Less than 48 hours later, on the night of Monday, May 15th, 1972, or in the pre-dawn hours of Tuesday, May 16th, the tenth-floor law office of **Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman** was forcibly entered. Located in the Watergate complex, but in a different building from the Democratic National Committee, the first employee arriving that Tuesday morning—a secretary—noticed the entry door was chiseled around the lock and taped so the door would not lock. Fearing that the burglars were still inside the office, she went downstairs and asked the building security guards to inspect the office. Nothing appeared out of place and no report was made to the police. Not until McCord and the four Miami men were caught in the DNC on June 17th, did members of the firm suspect their damaged door had been anything more than the effort of petty crooks. After the Watergate break-in, however, the police and FBI were called in. The lawyers had good reason to see a connection. Patricia Harris was temporary chairperson on the Democratic Credentials Committee, a director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and a host of other liberal organizations. Sargent Shriver was Senator Edward Kennedy's brother-in-law and occasionally mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate. Max Kampelman was Hubert Hum-

phrey's close friend and associate. Richard Berryman, another partner in the firm, was co-counsel for Humphrey's presidential campaign. Unknown at the time, Harris and Shriver had been on the Enemies List since November 1971.

Because four of the five men arrested inside the Democratic National Committee on June 17th, 1972, were from Miami, **Richard Gerstein**, State Attorney for Dade County, Florida, got into the case. Chief investigator Martin Dardis was put in charge. According to press reports, Dardis said he began checking Bernard Barker's bank account just before the July 4th holiday, and that the Watergate case—the \$25,000 Dahlberg check deposited by Barker—was the only sensitive matter he was working on at the time. On July 4th the state attorney's large suite of offices on the sixth floor of the Metropolitan Dade County Justice Building was forcibly entered. Access was obtained by kicking out a panel in a side-entrance door that faced onto a public corridor; through the hole in the door the intruders reached the inside door knob. Inside, they evidently ignored a dozen offices going directly to Dardis's out-of-the-way cubicle, which was entered by the removal of a ceiling tile over a door jamb. Nothing was missing, but papers were disturbed; an unsuccessful attempt was made to penetrate a safe.

Approximately three days later, most likely after the maid left on Friday, July 7th, or in the early morning hours of Saturday, July 8th, the Dallas home of **Democratic National Committee Treasurer Robert Strauss** was severely ransacked while he and Mrs. Strauss were in Miami preparing for the Democratic convention: Clothing was strewn about; several drawers were pried open. Jewels valued at over \$100,000, furs and other valuables were not taken. Police found no fingerprints; nothing was missing.

Twelve to 36 hours later, on the evening of July 8th or the morning of July 9th, attorney **Carol Scott** of Gainesville, Florida, suffered a break-in at her office; intruders got in by breaking a front door transom. The only thing stolen was the file on her client Scott Camil, one of seven Vietnam Veterans Against the War members later accused by the government of conspiracy to commit violence at the 1972 Republican convention. It was one of a series of non-commercial break-ins that has plagued the VVAW. (Among the most recent, the VVAW's Washington office was forcibly entered over the 1974 Memorial Day weekend; mailing lists were stolen and papers were scattered).

Washington DC is a major center for break-ins having political overtones. Either by design or happenstance, they did not start in earnest until 1972. Their modus operandi is directly opposite the pattern revealed by District of Columbia police department statistics which indicate Washington burglars have an apparent willingness to steal anything, regardless

of value, and two out of three local burglaries occur during daylight hours.

About 2 AM on Sunday, April 9th, 1972, the Georgetown home of CBS White House correspondent **Dan Rather** was broken into. Rather, who had been the object of a White House rebuke for his lack of "objectivity," had planned to be in Key Biscayne over the weekend covering President Nixon and had made arrangements with the White House to have his family accompany him. Just before leaving, one of his children became ill and only Rather went to Miami, cutting his trip short and returning home Saturday night. Later that night while the family was asleep, noises were heard downstairs. Lights that had been left on all night went off; the telephone didn't work. Rather frightened the prowlers off. They had gone straight to his basement office, ignoring the rest of his house and passing up valuables that included Mrs. Rather's visible purse containing \$200. Police looked for fingerprints; none were discovered.

**Intertel** is a company that provides confidential management and security services to business entities. One of its clients is the Howard Hughes empire. In its Washington office all working papers are collected at the end of the business day and put in a safe. Sometime between the close of business on Wednesday, August 23rd, 1972, and the arrival of the first employee on Thursday, August 24th, a door leading from a public corridor was crudely jimmied, giving access to the unlocked room in which all locked files were kept. The safe was drilled but not opened. Two other locked doors off the public corridor, leading to separate offices, were not touched. Nothing was taken.

**Tad Szulc** is a former *New York Times* corre-

spondent who often wrote stories based on classified information embarrassing to the Nixon administration. One such story published on June 22nd, 1971, during the conflict between Pakistan and India over what is now Bangla Desh, compromised the professed American position of neutrality by disclosing that the U.S. was sending military supplies to Pakistan, even though the State Department said shipments had been suspended. (Another story, in the *New Republic* of December 29th, 1973, alleged that secret White House intelligence operations, which drew heavily on CIA resources, included burglaries, or burglary attempts, against ITT's Washington and New York offices in 1971 and 1972. Szulc reported they were apparently conducted in search of data on ITT's top officials, "as a form of 'double insurance'" in case complications arose over ITT's \$1 million offer in contributions to the CIA to prevent the inauguration of President Allende in Chile, and \$400,000 to the Republican party in connection with an antitrust suit. An ITT spokesman says company officials have no knowledge of any such break-ins, or attempted break-ins.)

In the White House transcripts John Ehrlichman described "the whole Szulc group" as one of the "very serious breaches" of "national security" that prompted the information of the Plumbers. About 10 PM on Saturday, February 10th, 1973, while Szulc and his wife were out to dinner, their home was forcibly entered. The intruders, apparently interrupted by their son's arrival, fled; he did not see them. A locked case containing expensive jewelry was forced open and its contents strewn about. Credit cards were not touched; nothing of value was taken. Police took fingerprints; if any were found, the family was never informed. On June 14th, 1973, *The Washington Post* disclosed that Szulc, along with Neil Sheehan — the former *New York Times* correspondent who had obtained the Pentagon Papers — had been wiretapped at least for several months in 1971, and that information from these taps had been received by the "plumbers." On July 15th, 1974, Szulc filed suit in the U.S. District Court, charging that members of the "plumbers" and the FBI illegally tapped his office and home phones from July or August 1971, and that government agents broke into his home "for the purpose of inspecting and/or removing documents and writings." The named defendants include John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman, John Mitchell, Robert Mardian, John Caulfield, David Young, E. Howard Hunt, G. Gordon Liddy, and Clyde Tolson as executor for the estate of the late J. Edgar Hoover.

On Wednesday night, April 18th, 1973, the only safe in the Capitol Hill office of **Sen. Lowell P. Weick-**

**er Jr.**, the Junior Republican member of the Senate Watergate Committee, was burglarized. There was no sign of forced entry to either the office or the safe, for which only three staff people knew the combination. Files were rearranged but nothing appeared to be missing from the safe; nothing was taken from the office, though tape recorders and television sets were in plain view. Political espionage was immediately suspected; on April 1st, Weicker had charged that a paid CRP agent had spied on nine congressional offices in 1972, and on April 3rd he had called for Haldeman's resignation.

The **National Welfare Rights Organization** is a poor peoples lobby, representing welfare recipients nationwide; it has close ties with the Black Panthers and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Both the organization and the late George Wiley, its former director, were on the Enemies List when the finance office of its Washington headquarters was forcibly entered over the 1973 Memorial Day weekend. Access to the building was gained through a third-floor fire escape; the finance office was entered by breaking a closed transom over the door. A safe was pried open, files were rifled, the room was left in a mess but nothing appeared to be missing. Not counting a break-in the following January, which appears to have been a normal burglary, it was the first of four incidents during the following ten months: In each, confidential documents were either examined or stolen and valuables not taken.

At 10:05 PM on Wednesday, June 27th, 1973, the electronic alarm system of **Potomac Associates** was activated, instantly alerting security police and setting off a loud wail in the Potomac office. Potomac is a Washington-based policy research group, directed by William Watts, a former Kissinger aide and staff secretary of the National Security Council who resigned when the U.S. invaded Cambodia in March

1970. In late June 1971 Potomac published a report which received nationwide publicity, that concluded Americans generally believed the country was in deep trouble and slipping under the Nixon administration.

A few days later, on July 6th, 1971, John Caulfield, a former New York City detective and White House intelligence operative whom Ehrlichman has characterized as Liddy's predecessor, sent a memorandum to John Dean. Caulfield described the physical layout of the Potomac office, and the security set-up of their office building, advising that "penetration is deemed possible if required." (A few hours before the June 27th break-in attempt, excerpts of this memo were published in *The Washington Post*.) In a second memo to Dean, dated August 9th, 1971, Caulfield said Strachan (a Haldeman aide) wanted to be kept up to date on Potomac Associates.

On June 1st, 1973, the building in which Potomac rented space adopted a sophisticated alarm system, making the security procedures outlined in Caulfield's first memo outdated. Persons arriving after hours had to go through a back door and use a code number to gain entrance. To get into the Potomac office on the fifth floor, a special key had to be put into a plate inserted into the wall adjacent to their front door. If the door was opened without the special key switched to the "access" position it would set off the alarm, which is what happened on June 27th. The intruders were gone when police arrived; the wall device had been tampered with and a small hole drilled into the shaft of the doorknob in an apparent attempt to neutralize the system. On Friday evening, July 20th, 1973, a second attempt was made; again the system worked and police were quickly on the scene. In both instances the office door had been opened and nothing appeared to be missing. A third attempt was made in the early morning hours of Saturday, March 2nd, 1974; this time the intruders attempted to pry open the door from the bottom, without success. In the ten-story office building, no other tenant subscribing to the electronic system has reported any break-ins or break-in attempts since its installation. Both Potomac Associates and William Watts were on the White House Enemies List — which was released by the Ervin Committee the same day the first break-in attempt was made against Potomac Associates.

CBS correspondent **Marvin Kalb** was also on the Enemies List. In May 1969 he had been one of four newsmen wiretapped by the FBI at the direction of Attorney General John Mitchell, pursuant to a presi-

dential request. During its impeachment inquiry, the House Judiciary Committee, quoting an FBI summary, reported: "Mitchell also requested physical surveillance of the commentator but withdrew this request after being advised by the FBI of the difficulties involved." Sometime over the weekend of July 7th-8th, 1973, Kalb's State Department office was ransacked; when he opened his door on Monday, "it looked like a cyclone had hit the room." Two weekends later, on July 21st-22nd—the same weekend a break-in attempt was made against Potomac Associates—his office was again ravaged, but this time the mess was confined to one corner, as if the intruders were looking for one thing. After each break-in, State Department security forces made an investigation, which included the taking of fingerprints. Nothing appeared to be missing on either occasion. Though Secretary of State William Rogers personally apologized, Kalb only received vague "we're investigating" replies to his subsequent inquiries to State Department security authorities. State Department officials told reporters that janitors may have left the office in disarray. After the second break-in, CBS put a strong lock on Kalb's door.

Kalb discovered his second break-in on Monday, July 23rd. That night, or in the pre-dawn hours of July 24th, the Washington **Society of Friends** Meeting House, and their adjoining Quaker House building, were selectively ransacked. Nothing was taken. Typewriters, tape recorders and a \$450 dictaphone were not touched, but files relating to the religious group's membership and finances were devastated. An internal Quaker memorandum states: "The main focus of attention seems to have been the Peace Center. Contents of files were strewn about; some were arranged on a desk as though to facilitate photography." The break-in had occurred while the Peace Center was planning a prayer vigil inside the White House; it was one in a series of pray-ins held by various peace groups in the summer of 1973 to protest the U.S. bombing of Cambodia. Dick Gregory, Fa-

ther Daniel Berrigan and **Roger Whitehead**, a Peace Center worker partially responsible for coordinating the Quaker portion of the civil-disobedience action, were among 163 persons arrested over a six-week period. (In October and November, shortly after the Saturday Night Massacre, while Whitehead was investigating the legitimacy of a pro-impeachment group suspected of being a front run by government agents, he suffered two break-ins at his home; in each, confidential tapes were stolen but marketable valuables—including the tape recorder holding the tapes—were not.)

The **Institute for Policy Studies** in Washington does basic research in public policy. Each of its co-directors, Richard Barnet and Marcus Raskin, were officials in the Kennedy Administration: Barnet in the State Department as an adviser to the U.S. Disarmament Agency, Raskin in the White House on the National Security Council. In the White House memorandum of August 11th, 1971, in which John Ehrlichman approved "a covert operation be undertaken to examine all the medical files still held by Ellsberg's psychiatrist," Egil Krogh and David Young noted it was unlikely Barnet and Raskin would be called before a Pentagon Papers grand jury "because they have been overheard." In addition to being wiretapped, other invasions of privacy were experienced. A former FBI agent, Robert N. Wall, has filed an affidavit, stating he and other agents illegally obtained Institute bank records on behalf of his employer. A former FBI informant and undercover agent for the District of Columbia police department, Earl Robert Merritt, has filed an affidavit stating he started infiltrating the Institute in early 1971, with orders to obtain anything of value, and that in the course of his duties he observed a woman also stealing documents, who he later learned was Ann Kolego, another agent of the Metropolitan Police Department. The Institute has not knowingly experienced break-ins of a political nature; Merritt, however, has spoken of intruders being in the building well after midnight on two occasions in August 1973. Inexplicably, FBI agents later made inquiries in the neighborhood, alleging that the Institute had had break-ins, and seeking further information. The Institute and Barnet and Raskin, are on the White House Enemies List.

When John Gardner's secretary arrived at her desk at **Common Cause** on Friday, February 8th, 1974, an alphabetized card file was in disarray: It contained a list of the organization's large contributors, as well as press contacts and Gardner's personal friends. Shortly thereafter, Gardner called her from a nearby hotel where Common Cause was having a Board of Directors meeting, asking for a notebook he had left on his desk the night before. Entering his locked office, she found papers on his desk reshuffled, files rifled and the notebooks moved to a credenza holding other notebooks. Except for 15 copies of already delivered speeches, nothing was missing. John Gardner and Common Cause, which had successfully litigated against the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, forcing it to publicly release its list of con-

tributors, were both on the Enemies List.

The **Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee**, chaired by Senator Henry Jackson prys into a multitude of areas: the energy crisis, Mafia activities, Government Service Administration scandals, the wheat sale to the Soviet Union. On Wednesday, July 17th, 1974, Phyllis Anderson, an assistant clerk, was working late. At 8 PM as she was leaving the subcommittee's office in the Old Senate Office Building, she heard someone manipulating the front-door lock. Thinking a colleague was returning to work, she opened the door. A stranger, a well-dressed white male adult about 30, was trying to get inside. Apparently at least as surprised as she, he fled in panic. Flustered, she did not call police until she reached home a half hour later.

The next day, Thursday, an anonymous caller telephoned the subcommittee and told an investigator the alleged identity of the would-be intruder. On Friday, an unsigned handwritten letter arrived, repeating his name. In the Washington metropolitan area, only one person is listed in the phone book having the last name supplied, and his first name matches that given in the anonymous messages. The man, however, is in his mid-fifties, and police have not contacted him. The case is reportedly closed. On July 17th, the subcommittee had three hearings underway, one on Russian technology, one on Civilian Health and Medical Programs for the Uniformed Services and one on Robert Vesco.

There are many other break-ins with suspicious political implications. In June 1973, for example, *Newsweek* reported that high administration officials told Senate investigators that burglaries were committed against the domestic left by unknown government operatives, in connection with the Seattle 7, the Chicago Weatherpeople, the Detroit 13, and the Berigan cases. In November 1973 the *Washington Post* gave details of break-ins which were related to the Detroit case. In one, attorneys Gerald Lefcourt, William Bender and William Goodman alleged in sworn affidavits the government had broken into the files of Goddard College in Vermont; the allegation was supported by an affidavit of the college president, Gerald Witherspoon, who stated a picture of Ronald Fliegelman, one of the defendants and a student at Goddard in the 1969-70 school year, was stolen from college files and turned up on an FBI wanted poster in the fall of 1971.

In July 1974 Jack Anderson reported that, shortly after a Harris Poll showed President Nixon's 1970 invasion of Cambodia was highly unpopular among college students, the office of pollster **Louis Harris** was broken into three times—reminiscent of the attempts made against Potomac Associates subsequent to their having reported that citizens had attitudes critical of the administration.

A complete break-in list can probably never be made. It is not definitely known if some contemplated break-ins actually happened. Was there, for example, an illegal entry into the **Brookings Institution** in Washington? Or did the much talked of break-in against Las Vegas publisher **Hank Greenspun**,

generally believed to have been aborted, actually occur? In the White House transcripts, John Ehrlichman told the president on April 14th, 1973, "I guess they actually got in." Or were break-ins that have occurred, like the one against the Washington residence of Mortimer Caplin, who had been Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, politically motivated—or for material gain? When Caplin and his wife returned from a party, late Saturday April 24th, 1971—the same month two Chilean diplomats suffered burglaries in New York, and about the time another Chilean diplomat in Washington thwarted an attempt—their front door was blocked from the inside and they heard scurrying noises upstairs. A bench had been placed against the door to serve as a warning signal; whoever was inside quickly exited. Upstairs, the Caplins' bedroom and study were a mess; drawers opened, a locked chest and a locked case containing papers broken into; their contents scattered. Nothing of value was taken; watches, jewelry, government bonds were passed up. Detectives were baffled. They took fingerprints, but the Caplins "received no feedback from police." Any judgment on the intruders' motivation is presumptuous.

In other break-in cases that seem to be politically inspired, victims have refused to give details.

Moreover, it is impossible to guess at the number of break-ins that have occurred without the victims' knowledge. This is reflected in the experience of Sol Linowitz, former chairman of the board of Xerox, and former U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States. A friend of one of the Watergate burglars told the ambassador that his friend claimed to have surreptitiously entered his office on two occasions in early 1972, to put a tap on and pull a tap off his telephone during the time he was a senior advisor to Senator Muskie on Latin American affairs. Ambassador Linowitz, whose firm also represented the Chilean government between February and June of that year, simply does not know if the alleged incidents happened.

Lastly, innumerable illegal entries have either not been reported, or lost to any central counting procedure because they are local in nature; most of these have been against radicals. **Carole Cullums** of Washington, DC, is an atypical case only because she can link the August 1972 break-ins at her apartment and antiwar organization office to her former roommate, Ann Kolego—the same woman involved with the Institute for Policy Studies—who for three years masqueraded as a left-wing activist, while an undercover agent in the intelligence division of the Metropolitan Police Department.

The exact circumstances of the "other break-ins" will be unclear until the participants are caught or until documentary proof is uncovered. But the evidence that is available persuasively suggests that Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist was not the first victim and the Democratic National Committee was not the last; that those political break-ins are unique only because their perpetrators are known.

## SOME STRANGE CLUSTERS

### 1971

|               |   |   |
|---------------|---|---|
| September 3-4 | (late Friday and early Saturday)                        | Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Beverly Hills |
| September 4-7 | (Labor Day weekend: between Saturday and early Tuesday) | NAACP Legal Defense Fund, New York            |

### 1972

|           |  |   |
|-----------|--|---|
| May 5-8   | (between late Friday and early Monday) | Federal Reserve Board, Washington                     |
| May 7     | (late Sunday)                          | Chilean diplomat Andres Rojas, Washington             |
| May 13-14 | (Saturday or Sunday)                   | Chilean Embassy, Washington                           |
| May 15-16 | (late Monday or early Tuesday)         | Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, Washington |
| July 4    | (holiday: Tuesday)                     | State Attorney, Miami                                 |
| July 7-8  | (late Friday or early Saturday)        | DNC Chairman Robert Strauss, Dallas                   |
| July 8-9  | (late Saturday or early Sunday)        | VVAW attorney Carol Scott, Gainesville, Fla.          |

### 1973

|            |  |  |
|------------|--|--|
| July 20    | (Friday night)                         | Potomac Associates (2nd attempt), Washington             |
| July 20-23 | (between late Friday and early Monday) | CBS correspondent Marvin Kalb (2nd break-in), Washington |
| July 23-24 | (late Monday or early Tuesday)         | Society of Friends, Washington                           |